Paris—Prague peace rally: 5 pages news and pictures

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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RAY O
THOMAS

AN ANNOUNCEMENT!

Effective today, NATIONAL GUARDIAN is lowering its subscription price from $4 a year to

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Subscribers at the old rates will receive full credit on the basis of the new subscription rates.

FOR DETAILS SEE JOHN T. McMANUS' REPORT TO READERS ON PAGE 12.

These are the partisans of peace

Exclusive GUARDIAN pictures rushed from Paris show (top) Pablo Picasso, one of the Peace Congress' most colorful figures, with a new pottery design; (just above) two great Americans: Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois; (below, left) a scene in the Salle Pleyel, with delegates from all over the world listening intently; (below right) the Catholic Abbe Jean Boulier, a French delegate, holding the hope of the world.

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THE MAILBAG

The Trenton Case— a tale of 2 papers

Some weeks ago GUARDIAN asked its readers to try to get their local papers to print news of the Trenton case and break through the paper curtain. One reader who got results was Irving Perlman of San Francisco, Cal. He wrote to "The Christian Science Monitor" and got this reply:

Dear Mr. Perlman:

Your letter of March 26 prompted us to investigate further the Trenton case and we had a major story in **Monitor** of April 20. Many thanks to you for your constructive interest in the **Monitor.**

Roland Sawyer
Asst. American News Editor

Mr. Perlman enclosed a "Monitor" tearsheet in his letter to us. It showed a three-quarter column story on the Trenton Six. Ed.

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Other people had other experiences. On March 23, Cornelia M. Anderson, chairman of the Progressive Party of Worcester, Mass., asked the Worcester "Telegram and Gazette" to carry stories on Trenton. She enclosed a summary from the GUARDIAN. She got this reply:

Dear Madam:

This is to acknowledge your letter of March 23rd about the Horner murder case in New Jersey.

This case is still before the courts of appeal. There may be at least two more appeals. We do not make a practice of commenting on such cases while they are still before the court. It is neither wise nor safe for us to do so. An appeal is pending to the New Jersey Supreme Court and still further appeals lie ahead, possibly the U.S. Supreme Court or a Federal District Court.

Meanwhile, for our own information we have asked a Trenton newspaper to give us such facts as they can on the case in general. You will probably agree that one of the hardest things to get hold of in the present era is a fact. We are flooded with opinion and propaganda, neither of which is largely concerned with facts.

M. H. Williams
Executive Editor

Enclosed was a copy of the report from the Trenton newspaper. It was loaded with references to "Communist propaganda" and Communist Party "club discussions," making it appear that only Communists are interested in the case. The fact is, as the GUARDIAN has made more than clear, that the fight for the Trenton Six has crossed party lines and oceans. Ed.

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From an old friend

BAY CITY, MICH.

I note the addition of new and distinguished contributors and I know that our baby has grown to be a lusty fledgling. It goes without saying that these facts make me as happy as a papa with his first born.

There is but one thing that I wish and beg of the GUARDIAN staff: in the words of Mao, "Weld yourself with the masses." Don't go the way of the **New Republic** and the **Nation.** Your philosophical laundryman, **John J. O'Neil**

•

Rare old Perry

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Finding Jennings Perry in the last few issues of the GUARDIAN is to me like ordering steak and 'taters in a restaurant and having the management throw in a bottle of rare vintage champagne—gratis.

S. Laurence

•

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We cannot refrain from letting you know how glad Eliot [Rev. Eliot White] and I are that Jennings Perry is with you.

We've always read Owen Whitfield's pieces, and usually got something good out of them, but from the first I felt they would be stronger if written in ordinary English, without dialect. **Mabel R. White**

•

No modesty

HAMPTON, IOWA

Thank goodness for a paper with such humanitarian views! Our great hope is that you may be able to reach more of the people with the real truth.

Mrs. R. L. Scantlebury

•

BAYSIDE, N.Y.

Keep up the good work. I think the GUARDIAN is wonderful in the way it provides an opportunity to get the "other" point of view which is practically unobtainable in the metropolitan press.

Charles Rabkin

•

PASADENA, CAL.

This is very definitely a fan letter. We would like you to know that we think you're wonderful—even in traditionally conservative Pasadena, Calif. **Dale Galston**

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Nature of religion

NEWVILLE, PA.

The picture and caption (Catholic pamphlet, "Get On the Bandwagon," Apr. 18) are the kind of thing one of the anti-Catholic hate groups might publish in order to foster bigotry. What was your purpose in including it? I believe the facts mentioned in the pamphlet are correct. . . . The GUARDIAN is a fine publication. . . . Why lose possible readers by senseless anti-Catholicism without any foundation? **Margaret S. Atwood**

Our purpose in including it was that we thought a convert-winning pamphlet with cover-design of a girl winking provocatively — published by whatever sect— was newsworthy and possibly significant with respect to the nature of "religion." We left comment to the reader. We are in the business of fostering not bigotry but enlightenment. Ed.

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We'll tell him

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N.Y.

If I had the money I'd subscribe for a 13 weeks trial for every citiizen in this County. I mean it!

Tell Henry Wallace that there are a lot of little people in this vicinity who are glad that he doesn't get discouraged and quit. Most of them didn't vote for him, but more and more of them will become imbued with his courage and come to understand what the issues are, given enough time. **A. L. Dunckel**

See McManus, P. 12. Ed.

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Quite a mouthful

PASCAGOULA, MISS.

In the December, 1948, issue of the **Readers Digest** I came across an article by Bruce Barton entitled "Are We Biting Off More Than We Can Chew?" which interested me very much. I quote in part:

"When we hear ourselves called 'the greatest and most powerful nation in the world' it should not fill us with pride, but with deep and solemn apprehension. For who have been our predecessors in this role? Greece, Rome, Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, England, Germany. And where are they now? Most of them are looking to us to keep them on our dole. Over all of them could be written the same epitaph: 'They bit off more than they could chew.'

"No nation can play God to the world with any final result except its own self-destruction." **H. A. Kruse**

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Faded beauty

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Your readers may be interested in further details concerning Eugene Howard, whose booklet **America Tomorrow** is reviewed in your issue of April 18 (25 cents—Box 595, Muskegon, Mich.) The larger book, "Must America Learn the Hard Way?", from which the booklet is taken, cost Howard his job, after 21 years as a high school teacher in his native town. It gives the clearest and simplest explanation I have ever seen of the inevitability of periodical depressions under private ownership of our economic machinery.

Publication of an earlier book, **Cankered Gold,** caused Howard's dismissal as economics teacher in 1934. In deference to public protest, however, he was renistated, but as teacher of . . . mathematics. Last spring he was fired for good, the board of education brazenly explaining that some "big taxpayers" objected to their children being taught mathematics by a man who held such ideas on economics. He is now working as a house painter.

America the Beautiful!

Frederick A. Blossom

•

Quick, Henry!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your article on moths was excellent, let's have one on roaches. **John Walsh**

Jennings Perry

Time to turn around in

THE more it becomes apparent that our State Department's China policy right through here is to have no China policy, the more I am impressed with the golden opportunity this makes for the American people.

For surely if no official line is laid down, if Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson cannot tell us what's what and what to do, there can be no serious objection to an attempt by the rest of us to discern a good course by ourselves.

In practically every other direction on earth our reasoning at the lay level is circumscribed by hard and fast attitudes announced in our name by official spokesmen and solemnly accepted by an uncritical press. Barely had we emerged from World War II with its constraint of opinion for unity's sake, when we were plunged into the Cold War whose necessities still require the intensive cultivation of our prejudices and fears and constant discouragement of objective thinking.

LOYAL MOMENT. It is worth appreciating that, for the time being at least, we can look at China dispassionately without having to suspect ourselves of disloyalty. We have a moment in here, while the State Department is completely baffled, in which as just plain citizens we may ask ourselves whether what the Chinese people are doing to and for themselves is not a thing they have every right to do, whether in the end they may not be actually happier for it.

In China, as in every other land, we previously have designated by official acts and utterances "our" side and the "other" side, without concerning ourselves too greatly with the will of the masses of the people or with the circumstances which breed popular revolt. We have shown our partisanship in the conventional ways—by diplomatic recognition, vast loans, military advice, arms and ammunition. We have made excuses for our side as long as we could, and have imputed to the other side all manner of evil.

This has been in the universal pattern of the Cold War. And nevertheless, as even the reluctant sages of our State Department now must perceive, it is not ours but the other side in China that has fought with the stronger faith, that has come from behind to win, that will rule China next—because hope is keener than apathy.

WISH THEM WELL. While our makers of policy are musing upon the mystery, the rest of us, I say, are free to examine our own feelings and debate the problem of what our nation's future policy towards China ought to be.

Recognizing the hope of a better living that drives the Chinese revolution (as all others), shall we cordially wish that the Chinese people under the new regime indeed may prosper, or base our own hopes—and policy—upon the possibility that the new regime may fail?

We still will hold Japan and Okinawa off the China Coast, and our battleship is ready in the end to bring away Chiang and the Soongs from Formosa to some comfortable retirement on our shores. But must we go on showing the back of our hand to the new government the Chinese are making for themselves despite our opposition, in the meanwhile clutching some old straw like "The Dragon always swallows the invaders?"

ORGANIZED SANITY? Our policy to have no policy has no winsomeness—since obviously we have come by it only by defeat. A hundred million ordinary Americans could furnish us a better one with no more guidance than their native gumption and the Golden Rule.

We do not have to pout or gape or wait for "Washingt[illegible]" to tell us off the cuff some night whether we are to make [illegible] War upon the Chinese people, too, or make an exception of their effort to amend the social order.

Each for himself, while Washington is trying to add it up, we can make signs of amity and good will and by this democratic means evince a China policy in keeping with our own respect for the rule of the majority.

Who knows: such sanity in time well might become official.

Our apologies for a bad typographical error in Perry's column last week: "The word **peace** and the concept **peace** cannot be attained." This should, of course, have read: "The word **peace** and the concept **peace** cannot be attainted."

The composing room pixie also crept into the statement of William Cary, author of **Poland Struggles Forward,** which accompanied the review of the book (Page 12). He was quoted: "... the book's chief significance is that it can help make clear the road to space. The Poles want space." In each case, the word **space** should have read **peace.**

Is there a pixie warmonger in the house?

Ella Winter

In Paris the world's people shouted: 'We want to live!'

This was the scene at Buffalo Stadium

PARIS

YOU couldn't have squeezed into the Stade Buffalo, the Yankee Stadium of Paris. Hours before the meeting, benches overflowed; the approaches to the Rose Bowl on New Year's Day were never more jammed than the wide boulevards around the stadium. From the windows of homes on the boulevards, people had hung out homespun symbols of peace.

The huge sports field was a waving meadow; men women, veterans—some of them wounded and blinded—and kids with slogans: WE WANT TO KEEP OUR DADDYS. Flags, balloons of many colors, flowers and banners waved above the crowd.

PEACE IS POPULAR. They approached the tribune from both sides; miners in their helmets, hospital workers, railroadmen, patients from hospitals, farm workers, Viet-Namese; a contingent of Black Sea Fighters of 1919—the French sailors Andre Marty led in revolt against intervention in Russia; sports fans on tandem bicycles or with footballs tucked under their arms—one group playing volleyball as they marched; professors and scientists—250 of them; peasants from Sicily carrying olive branches and carnations; students, men in the striped uniforms of Auschwitz, priests, nurses; Resistance heroes, alive or, like Joe Hill, never dead.

Banner slogans shouted the world's Resistance: THE PEASANTS OF FRANCE WANT PEACE—THE GREEK PEOPLE FIGHT FOR PEACE—HOUSEWIVES OF LE HAVRE DEMAND PEACE — ART MUST NOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE —WHILE THE HITLER WAR GOES ON THE RESISTANCE CONTINUES. Indonesian contingent, Spanish Republicans marching to deafening cheers, Black Africa, Democratic Greece, fighting Malaya, a victorious People's China.

DOVES, DOVES, DOVES. Feelings overflowed in the Marseillaise and the French Resistance song, "Allons au Devant de la Vie." And round the field they kept on coming; children with lilac, bicycles decorated with white lilac; telephone and communications workers holding hands in a laughing chain; the National Federation of Police ("Police, with us!" cried one Resistance fighter); Picasso's dove, in plaster, on cardboard, on banners, a dove float with children sitting on it, a dove made entirely of white carnations.

Just a nobody

FROM a letter received from a Frenchwoman who attended the Buffalo Stadium meeting "neither as a delegate, nor as a journalist, but as a plain nobody":

"It has been so long since I, and I believe I can say most people, have lived through such intense joy and security. Such horrible ghosts are daily waved at us, as if we were doomed to punishment. But yesterday we felt we were secure in our own strength — that ghosts do not exist if we say we hate them—that we are strong, and that WE LIVE."

And more slogans of the 72 lands from which representatives of 600,000,000 people had come to Paris to see that there shall be no more war: OUR CHILDREN WANT TO EAT—THE ATLANTIC PACT IS A PACT FOR DEATH—A PEOPLE THAT OPPRESSES ANOTHER CANNOT BE FREE—OUR BLOOD IS NOT EXPENDABLE.

And the women! By truck and bus, on foot and bicycle, in creaking jalopies, they had come from the towns and villages of France where it is spring again and the chestnut trees are in bloom. They have lost their men, they have spent the hours of private agony:

Within her heart she rocked
a dead child, crying,
'My son, my little son'

—and now, dominating the field in red, white and blue—for they love their country as they love their sons—are their slogans: WE SAY NO TO WAR! WE WILL NOT BE ALLIES OF THE HANGMEN OF ORADOUR! (the French Lidice).

EVEN THE COPS. The press, especially the American press, tried hard to cut down the numbers to 50,000. They couldn't lie to us. We could see. The subway sold 227,000 tickets that afternoon to Buffalo Stadium.

At every fifth tree along the route was a group of police, 20 to a group. They were quiet, watchful, not provocative, some even sympathetic. They looked a little uneasy. "The Communists are organizing for peace," said one. Said another: "We all want peace."

The honored Congress delegates kept on arriving and were announced on the loud speaker. It was a roster of the leading men and women of our epoch; Pablo Picasso, Louis Aragon, Amado, Bernal, Pablo Neruda ("helped to escape from Chile by an underground I do not even know"); Ilya Ehrenburg, Pritt, Lukacs; members of the Honorable Order of Refused Visas—Zilliacus, Cot, Paul Eluard, Mme. Cotton, Abbe Jean Boulier.

Past the tribune flowed the banners: UNION OF FRENCH ATOMIC WORKERS — THE FRENCH ATOMIC PILE IS A WORK FOR PEACE. Then a giant photo of Franklin D. Roosevelt—with a mustache (the press said it was a beard —therefore Karl Marx).

PEACE DUPES. The press so wanted to make out that the demonstrators were just a handful of communists and fellow-travelers; that it was Cominform-plotted, Stalni-directed, with poor dupes hauled in by the ears. But I saw just one Stalin slogan: THANKS TO STALIN FOR HIS PEACE ACTIONS.

The banners were home made, rudely printed, sometimes mis-spelled, carried on sticks that might have been picked up in a farmyard. They said simple things: WE WANT TO LIVE — LET'S IMPOSE PEACE — WE WON'T GO TO THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE FOR TRUMAN SCHUMAN.

WE WON'T FIGHT. A thunder of shouts went up as the Union of Scientific Workers arrived in front of the tribune and Joliot-Curie, High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, stood up to report to the people on the work of the Congress.

Then came Britain's Konni Zilliacus, who had already analyzed for the Congress the "humbug" of those who say the Atlantic Pact doesn't contradict the UN Charter. Speaking in French, he challenged the preparers of war: "You can sign all the treaties you like, but we are not going to fight the Soviet Union. . . . If you, the governments we elected to make peace, are unable to make it, then we will make peace ourselves. . . . You have been warned." The audience shouted until no-one had voice left.

Senator Sireni spoke for Italy; then an Indonesian delegate; then Fadeyev for the Soviet Union; then Howard Fast for the U.S. delegation—a simple speech ending with the words to the French people massed in front of him: "I humbly salute you."

THEY MEAN IT. And the people were saying: "We have won two wars together. We can win the peace together."

They mean it. Can't President Truman, a simple man from the Middle West, understand what military preparations look like to those who have felt the agonies of war? Can't Western leaders believe that the people are up in arms against another mass slaughter?

The people have had enough. They want to live.

Like this issue?

Would you like your friends to receive copies of this special issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN devoted to the Europe Peace Congress? If so, send us your list of names and we will mail copies to them immediately. Enclose 5 cents per copy. Special rates for 25 or more.

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More peace congress news, pp. 4, 9, 10, 11.

Manifesto of the Partisans of Peace

FOUR years after the last great world tragedy, the perpetrators of the cold war have passed from the stage of mere blackmail to open preparation for war.

But it is a fact, which the World Peace Congress demonstrates, that the peoples of the world have ceased to be passive and intend to play an active and constructive role.

Those peoples represented at our World Peace Congress proclaim:

WE ARE in favor of the Charter of the United Nations and against all military alliances which render this Charter ineffective and lead to war.

We are against the crushing burden of military expenditure responsible for the misery of nations.

We are in favor of the prohibition of atomic arms and other means of mass destruction of human beings.

We demand the limitation of the armed forces of the great powers and the establishment of effective international control for the utilization of atomic energy exclusively for peaceful ends and for the welfare of mankind.

WE STRUGGLE for the national independence and the peaceful cooperation of all peoples, for the right of the peoples to self-determination—essential conditions for liberty and for peace.

We stand opposed to all undertakings which, in order to open the way to war, are bent on limiting and then suppressing democratic liberties.

We constitute a universal front for the defense of truth and reason in order to reduce to impotence the propaganda which poisons public opinion.

We condemn war hysteria and the preaching of racial hatred and enmity between peoples.

We urge the condemnation of newspapers, books, magazines, films, persons and organizations which disseminate propaganda for the new war.

WE, WHO have sealed the unity of the peoples of the world, with the same enthusiasm throw our forces on the side of peace.

Resolved to remain vigilant, we will constitute a World Council of cultural workers and democratic organizations for the defense of peace in the world.

It will bring pressure to bear on those who want war, confronting them at each stage of their conspiracy with the permanent menace of a popular force capable of imposing peace.

Let the women, let the mothers who bear the hope of the world know that we consider as a sacred duty the defense of their children's lives and the security of their homes.

Let the youth hear us and unit without distinction as to political opinion or religious belief, in order to sweep mass murder from the radiant path of the future.

THE World Peace Congress proclaims that henceforth the defense of peace is the task of all peoples.

In the name of the 600,000,000 women and men represented here, the World Peace Congress sends forth a message to the peoples of the world—it says to them:

"Courage, more courage and again courage!"

We have learned how to unite.

We understand how to agree.

We are prepared and resolved to win the battle for peace, which is the battle for life.

Doves all over

Paris never saw anything like it

By William Wolf

PARIS

THE meaning of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace was expressed inadvertently by the Paris edition of the New York **Herald Tribune.** On the eve of the conference the story, U.S. PEACE DELEGATES HOPE TO BUILD U.S.-SOVIET AMITY, appeared next to a story of what was happening along the Czech border, headlined 70,000 U.S. TROOPS IN MANEUVERS.

Paris had never seen anything like the Congress before. All over the city were posters bearing Picasso's dove—symbol of peace painted especially for the occasion. The presence of some of the world's outstanding personalities made it impossible for even the hostile press to turn its back. More than 800 correspondents were accredited.

In the delegates' section of the concert hall Salle Pleyel were 1,784 representatives with signs bearing the names of some 60 countries. The platform was lined with a multitude of flags. Walls bore the slogan: "Unity for Peace Is Our Most Sacred Duty."

FLOWERS. When the mother of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, the 18-year-old Russian heroine killed by the Nazis, ended her appeal against the horrors of war, a group of 40 Parisian children filed in and solemnly presented her with a bouquet of flowers. One little girl said: "We hope that what you have suffered will mean that we won't have to suffer the same thing."

The Congress gave a thundering reception to Paul Robeson both for his singing and his speech, in which he said:

"It was on the backs of the poor white people who came from Eastern Europe and on the backs of the Negro people that a prosperous America was built. We will have no nonsense about going to war against anyone."

THE PLEDGES. Delegate after delegate made similar pledges of peace, such as the following:

Frederic Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist: "To those who desire, like us, to defend peace, we will give the means. To those who have understood and who want war we will say calmly but resolutely: you will have to deal with us."

FROM THE FRONTS. The Congress hailed delegates of peoples who were fighting for their freedom at that moment.

Miss Thai Tchi Lien, Viet-Nam: "The people of Viet-Nam, who already have fought against the Japanese aggressor, continue the same battle today for their independence. We know that the people of France do not want this war."

Sunan Hamzah, head of the Indonesian delegation: "We want peace, but peace is not possible before the people are free. We are fighting not only for the Indonesians but for all colonial peoples all over the world."

Mme Eugenie Cotton

President of the International Democratic Women's Federation. She spoke to the Congress.

The assembly cheered messages from delegates denied visas by the French government. Some 350 persons were refused admission.

Gen. MacArthur barred Japanese delegates from attending.

France limited Eastern European countries to eight delegates, although Russia was permitted 12.

PICASSO'S PALOMA. The Congress had a special meaning for painter Picasso, designer of the dove that was its symbol. During the Congress his wife they named Paloma, the Spanish word for dove. In honor of both the peace gathering and Paloma, several delegations presented Picasso with two live doves.

Konni Zilliacus

Humbug enough

SPEAKING as "a grandfather who does not want his grandchildren blown into atomic dust" and "a League of Nations official who took his duties seriously," British Labor M.P. Konni Zilliacus recalled the fight for peace and eventual triumph of the fatal arms-race policy after World War I. He called the Atlantic Pact "in effect a blend of the Holy Alliance and the Anti-Comintern Axis, with the present rulers of the U.S.A. playing the part of Metternich in the former and of Hitler in the latter."

He reminded the Congress that he and the 399 other British Labor M.P.'s were elected on a platform of socialism and of continued friendship with both U.S. and U.S.S.R., without which peace was declared impossible.

Maxim Litvinov's famous statement in the '30's, said Zilliacus, still echoes around the world: 'Peace is indivisible.' The western powers, identifying capitalism with democracy, freedom, patriotism and religion, had tried to save it then by turning the fascist regimes against their eastern neighbors. By dividing peace they had only succeeded in making World War II inevitable and "so helped spread the social revolution in circumstances that made it necessarily violent and extreme."

WINSTON'S EMPTY SEAT. The same western statesmen who wanted to appease fascism but in the end had to fight it were "beginning to feel lonely, frightened, insecure and exposed" now that the convenient "bulwarks against communism" had disappeared. "Like the character in Oscar Wilde, they have killed the thing they loved."

The "anti-communist peace" touted by the Churchills was a contradiction in terms, Zilliacus continued, and could only lead to a "preventive" third World War.

"Mr. Churchill never tires of saying that the 14 wicked men in the Kremlin dread beyond all things friendly intercourse with the west. Such friendly intercourse, he says, would be fatal to the Red monsters of iniquity who lurk behind the Iron Curtain. Well, naturally, I expected to find Mr. Churchill with us today, assassinating the Red peril with amiability. But the physician will not try the remedy he prescribes."

BAD GRAVY. Zilliacus annihilated the official argument that the UN could not work because of "Soviet abuse of the veto," by quoting the clear interpretation of the UN Charter made by Secretary General Trygve Lie and never challenged by any other government. The Charter was based on the assumption of agreement among all permanent Security Council members. Seeking such agreement was an "absolute necessity," said Lie, and the veto right merely "imposed an obligation" to seek it.

ZILLIACUS

The Atlantic Pact was "diametrically opposed" to the Charter; the people would not swallow it raw and it had therefore been served up "in UN sauce, garnished with plenty of humbug.

"Humbug, by the way, and I say it with a kind of melancholy pride, is an English-speaking specialty. It can best be described as a half-way house between confusion and hypocrisy . . . combining moral sincerity with intellectual dishonesty."

ANYBODY'S RACE. Referring to "obsessions about the Red Army that drove Mr. Forrestal gibbering into the night," Zilliacus said:

"To judge by their utterances, any number of leading public men in the U.S. are only one jump behind Mr. Forrestal and are catching up rapidly. What, for instance, has Mr. Forrestal got that Rep. Clarence Cannon hasn't got?"

To show that the job of reconciling the interests of East and West can be done, Zilliacus suggested that a committee undertake to study all the outstanding issues to be settled and offer proposals for settlement within the purpose and principles of the UN Charter.

Pietro Nenni

No interference from without . . .

DERIDING U.S. interference in Italy's internal affairs carried out under the guise of promoting freedom, Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian left-wing Socialists and Italian Foreign Minister from 1945 to 1947, reminded the Congress how Washington had openly threatened to make Italy an economic outcast if her people didn't vote against the Popular Front in April, 1948. "This is what Article 4 of the Atlantic Pact means: the return of open or underhanded political, social and economic despotism."

"If war is political before becoming a military event," he said, "we must note that for the past two weeks the third world war party has its political general staff. It exalts President Truman, the new sentinel of order; Mr. Churchill is its prophet; it derives its spiritual weapons from militant clericalism, and feeds on the hate and fear which socialism and the Soviet Revolution have aroused in our country, just as liberalism and the French Revolution aroused the same hate and fears a century ago."

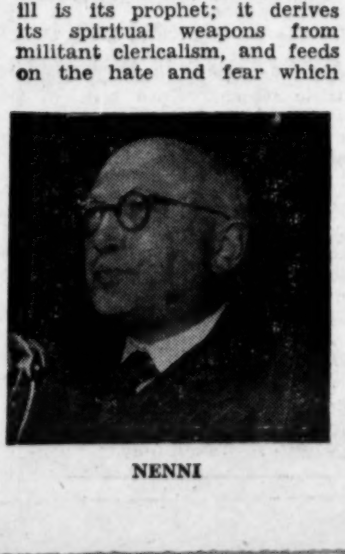
DIVIDE AND RULE. Nenni described the UN Charter as the first step to peace and reconstruction, and said that, for the selfish interests of the U.S., the UN Economic and Social Council, International Monetary Fund and Economic European Council had been "consciously and constantly sabotaged." This sabotage had been done to divide Europe and so subordinate it to the U.S. programs.

"The only possible democratic attitude toward the peoples who have accomplished their revolutions according to their historic conditions is to say that no one has the right to intervene from without; and that these revolutions will live or die by the action of the forces within those countries, insofar as they represent either a progressive development or an illusion. . . ."

THE Italian delegation to the Congress was led by Pietro Nenni. The delegation consisted of nearly 1,000 members and three special trains were chartered to bring them to Paris. Many of the delegates were members of the right-wing Saragat group of the Socialist Party — a minority in the party since the Atlantic Pact. The Nenni majority in the party, which collaborates with the Communists, has 600,000 members and 58 deputies.

Over 30,000 lire per delegate was needed to send the peace delegation to Paris. The money was collected in villages and factories in sums ranging from 5 to 100 lire.

Nenni fought in Spain; in France, where he lived as an emigre during the Mussolini regime, he was arrested during the war. His daughter was murdered in Auschwitz and his son-in-law shot.



NENNI

He could not leave India

The following letter has been received from Mulk Raj Anand, the well-known Indian novelist and editor of the Bombay art magazine Marg*—one of many peace-minided citizens throughout the world who were prevented by government vetoes from attending the Paris Congress:*

ABOUT 43 hours before I was due to leave for Paris to attend the World Peace Congress, the Government of Bombay seized my passport, thus preventing me from boarding the airplane on which I had booked my passage.

I saw the Home Secretary, Mr. Morarjee Desai, the same afternoon. While admitting that he knew I was not a member of the Communist Party but an independent, he, however, did not withdraw his order for the seizure of my passport and thus prevented me from going to Paris. The main reason he gave was, that he did not want Indians to go abroad and abuse the Indian Government on international platforms.

I immediately wired to Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru to intervene on my behalf, especially as Nehru had sent a message to the World Peace Congress in New York; but as Pandit Nehru is going to London tomorrow to attend the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, I am afraid he won't do anything in this matter.

I should like you to protest on my behalf in your paper against the arbitrary action of the Bombay Government. Only a protest at the international level will succeed in making the bureaucracy here realize that it is unjust to gag free expression of thought and to prohibit free movement of democratically minded citizens.

Mulk Raj Anand

WORLD ROUNDUP

Peace ahead?

THE awakening seemed world-wide. China's 462,000,000 people were tipping the scales of the cold war into a brand new balance. Adjustments had to be made not in China alone but in Berlin and the rest of the world as well.

Diplomats trying to regain their balance at the end of the week had to juggle military potentials with one hand and dollar costs with the other. Said worried Mark Sullivan in the New York **Herald Tribune**: "Because of the fall of China, the whole nexus—the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and military aid for nations in the pact—is a very different thing from what it was when we first conceived it. . . . The difference is that we cannot now look on any of these as having a limit in amount or time—we must see them as with us for the indefinite future. It is idle to speak of definite amounts—$4,500,000,000 for the Marshall Plan, $1,333,000,000 for military aid. And idle to speak of limits in time."

PEACE PAYS. Accountants considered the prospect of billions without end. (The Berlin airlift alone had cost $123,570,000 in the 10 months of its existence.) To many businessmen peace began to seem reasonable, even inexpensive. And with the dawning of that truth in the counting houses, the people of the world last week took new hope.

The turn to peace was sudden. No one knew when the road might turn again. But American and Russian officials were talking about a German settlement, and Chinese soldiers were waking up a lot of people.

China: Knock knock

WHEN 73-year-old U.S. Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart went to bed on Sunday night at the Embassy on Shanghai Road, Nanking, the cold war seemed intact, even if the hot war was uncomfortably close.

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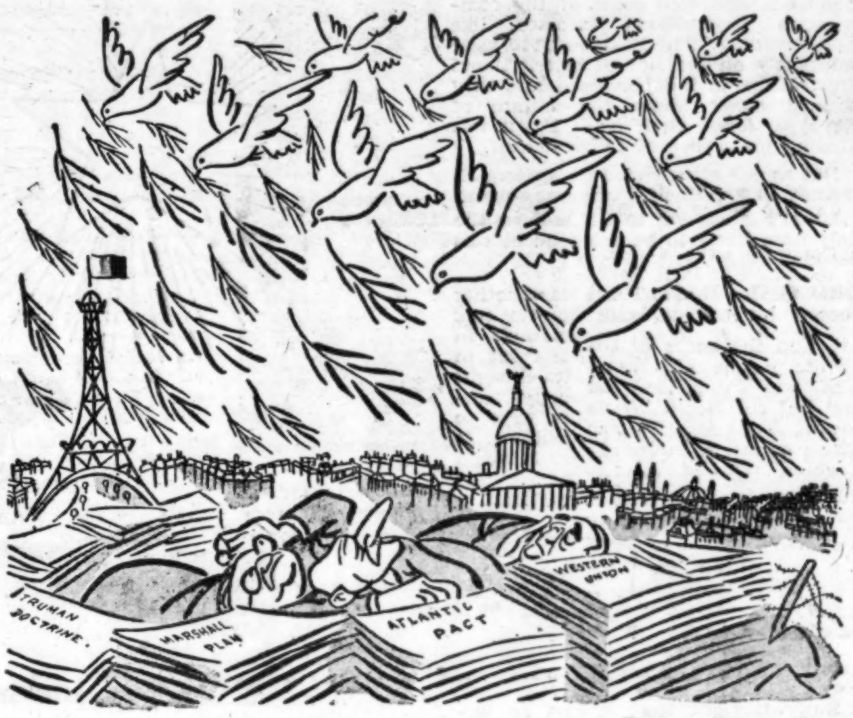
At 6:45 a.m. Monday twelve Communist soldiers walked into his room, and began to poke into drawers and behind curtains. The Ambassador woke up. The soldiers remarked to each other that "all this would eventually go to people to whom it should belong anyway." Then they left but the Ambassador could not sleep.

The State Department dispatched a sharply worded protest to the Chinese about the invasion of Stuart's bedroom. Sen. Tom Connally (D.-Tex.) chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urged that the protest be "rammed down the throats" of the Chinese. But he did not say who should do the ramming.

SMALL NEAT ROWS. Just four hours before, a U.S jeep had rolled through the gates of Nanking and behind it marched the vanguard of the Communist troops. An Associated Press reporter wrote: "All the Communists looked as if they had been on a hard march but their discipline was excellent. They speedily occupied all key points. Those not on immediate duty sat in small neat rows in various parts of the city, singing in unison or listening to talks by their officers. Curious civilians gathered around each group."

A seven-point policy outline for occupation was handed out by the commander. It said "bureaucratic capital belonging to the rebel Chiang Kai-shek and Co. will be confiscated" but it guaranteed protection for other commercial, industrial and private property and the lives of all. It concluded: "Communist soldiers will not be allowed to take anything from people without offering payment."



Kulturni Politika, Prague

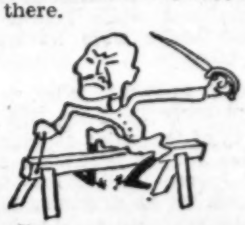
Peace Bombing

AND POINTS SOUTH. Communist troops poured over the Yangtze and spread southward, taking nationalist towns as fast as they could receive their surrenders. At the week-end they were converging in two columns on Shanghai. And slipping down the Whangpoo, away from the danger area, were the warships of the U.S. Navy command in the Western Pacific. Behind them "battleship row" was quiet.

Visitor in town

Into Shanghai flew Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, hurrying from retirement. He said: "I wish to pledge at this time of crisis that I shall share the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen and that as long as I live I will take my part in our nationwide struggle against enslavement." Then he departed hastily for Amoy, an island near Formosa.

It was hard to find any authority other than Communist. Acting President Li Tsung-jen had ceased to act; holed up in his home town of Kweilin, he resisted efforts to force the reins into his hands. The peace mission that had failed to make peace in Communist-held Peiping sent word they had made peace for themselves anyway, and were staying there.



"GOD HELP THEM." Few expected a serious battle for the great, sprawling, modern seaport. Shanghai has a history of civic and commercial corruption that does not seem to go well with heroic last-ditch resistance. Some hinted at a secret weapon. One old China hand said as he left the city: "God help the Chinese Communists! If they can reform Shanghai, they can reform anything."

Meanwhile the government's presses continued to print great volumes of all-but-worthless currency. Food prices were sky-high. Private warehouses, though, bulged with food and their owners grew uneasy as the hungry watched. They watched the warehouses with one eye and with the other the wooden stockade around the city through which the first Communist troops would enter.

STILL HOPE. In far away America, columnist Walter Lippmann saw some hope for disunity. He wrote: "Europe is not united, nor within sight of unity, and it may well be that what the Europeans cannot do, the Chinese, who are much more primitive, will not for long ages to come be able to do."

Japan seemed suddenly a lonely group of islands and Gen. MacArthur moved quickly to distribute 10,000,000 bibles "as a start toward saving Asia from communism."

Berlin grounded?

NEARLY two years ago, the famous German architect, Walter Gropius, was commissioned by Gen. Lucius D. Clay to design a handsome capital at Frankfurt for his pet project, a Western German state. The proposed state, unpopular from the beginning with Germans, French and British alike, soon came to be known in irreverent diplomatic circles as the bastard offspring of an illicit union between Gen. Clay and wanton Western German conservatives.

U.S. determination to give life to Gen. Clay's child broke up a Big Four conference on Germany in the fall of 1947 and was the real cause of the Berlin crisis. Russia imposed the blockade in June 1948 when Clay attempted an economic invasion of the Eastern zone by circulating the new West German currency throughout Berlin.

THE PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS. The Berlin crisis has often been close to solution. The powers were brought within a hair's breadth of agreement by the military governors in August 1948; by Trygve Lie and Dr. Juan Bramuglia, then president of the UN Security Council, in the fall; by an expert committee of six UN "neutrals" in the winter.

In each case, at the crucial moment, as UN spokesmen were later to reveal guardedly, the U.S. raised the ante to prevent agreement. U.S. representatives admittedly feared solution of the crisis would halt their creation of a Western German state.

Hushed peace

Early this year, the State Department began to review U.S. German policy, since the three chief architects of that policy—Under Secretary of the Army Draper, Secretary of Defense Forrestal, and Gen. Clay—were scheduled to leave the government.

Perhaps as a result of this review, Dr. Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Ambassador-at-large, in mid-February approached Jacob Malik, Soviet representative on the Security Council, in the delegates' lounge at Lake Success. He wanted to learn what significance, if any, there was in the fact that Premier Stalin's statement to correspondent Kingsbury Smith, on Feb. 2, failed to mention solution of the Berlin currency issue as a condition for the resumption of Big Four talks on Germany.

DAYS OF SILENCE. This began a series of secret meetings at the large stone mansion on New York's Park Avenue where Mr. Malik makes his headquarters. On March 21, Malik told Jessup that Russia was prepared to lift the Berlin blockade on condition that the counter blockade be lifted simultaneously and a definite date set for a Big Four meeting on Germany.

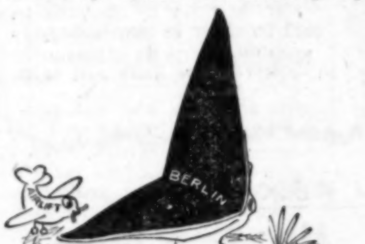
For 36 days Washington made no answer to this offer, while U.S. officials, in the words of the New York **Times**, "did everything possible to minimize and evade" reports that it had been made. In these 36 days Washington hastily forced through vital decisions on the organization and setup of the West German state, on German reparations and industry.

Robert Murphy was dispatched to Germany as the new head of the U.S. Office of German Affairs. He was sent to crack the whip over politicians laboring in the cold, glass-walled assembly room of the normal school at Bonn to produce a constitution for the new state. Washington clearly wanted the new state to be an accomplished fact before talking to Moscow.

The first pickup

French Foreign Minister Schuman let the cat out of the bag about the Russian offer in Paris April 22, and "shocked" American officials in Berlin by declaring that France was willing to take up German discussions where they were broken off in 1947—in other words, willing to sidetrack the West German state.

In a few busy days, a constitution was produced at Bonn, agreed to by the parliamentary caucus but not the party organization of the Social Democrats who have opposed the constitution favored by the U.S.



Gen. Clay demanded Western Germany's admission into the "free" association of Western states, promising that the association could then break up the "communist front" in Europe.

THE WAY IS CLEAR. The State Department announced, on the heels of a Tass dispatch confirming the talks, that the way "appears clear" for ending the blockade. And all the while U.S. officials in Berlin and Washington reiterated their determination to proceed with the West German state under any and all conditions.

At the week-end American officials were awaiting, with "restrained optimism," the Russian reply to their demand that Russian terms for ending

Continued on following page

3 months ago in Guardian

In an off-the-record talk which GUARDIAN has obtained and verified, John Foster Dulles, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, said that there could be a settlement of the Berlin situation at any time. . . . The present situation is, however, to U.S. advantage for propaganda purposes. . . . If we settle Berlin, then we have to deal with Germany as a whole. We will have to deal with a Russian proposal for withdrawal of all occupation troops and a return of Germany to the Germans.

"Frankly, I do not know what we would say to that," Mr. Dulles was quoted. "We cannot keep up the Berlin airlift indefinitely."

(GUARDIAN, Jan. 24, 1949)

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

the blockade be put in writing.

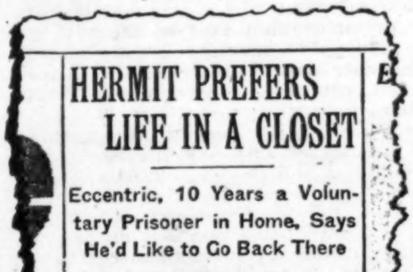
In Paris, the developments were hailed as a crack in the cold war ice. In Moscow, May Day slogans proclaimed the "brotherly alliance of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and England, as the best guarantee of a firm peace"; and diplomats in the Soviet capital believed the way might be open to end the cold war.

FEELING BETTER. President Truman told newsmen in Washington that he felt the Russians were acting in good faith and that he was encouraged.

Whether or not the U.S. was ready to settle, it was on the spot. If the State Department refused to negotiate or broke off without good cause, its West German state would be more unpopular and unworkable than ever.

On Thursday night Secretary Acheson, speaking at a dinner tendered by the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. in New York, said that German unity might be achieved if the East Zone joined Gen. Clay's West Germany.

NOT REASSURED. One man remained a skeptic in the face of peace. Paul Makushak emerged from a six-by-three-foot cubicle in a Brooklyn apartment where he had confined himself for 10 years. Brought out by police, he said: "It's no good being out, I'd like to go back where I was."



HERMIT PREFERS LIFE IN A CLOSET

Eccentric, 10 Years a Voluntary Prisoner in Home, Says He'd Like to Go Back There

Paul Makushak, who was dug out [illegible] from a tiny cell

UN WEEK

UN: New hope

ALONG New York's East River a solitary girder rose to mark the progress of the United Nations permanent headquarters. The New York **Daily Mirror** called it "UN's tomb at our expense."

The mood at Flushing Meadow had been almost sombre. The UN Assembly was three-quarters through its spring session, and the air of futility that had hung in its soft-carpeted lounges on opening day had only deepened with the debates on Israel, Spain and the Italian colonies.

Then the Berlin story broke and everything changed. Diplomats walked about as if they were more than pall bearers. The "international civil servants" felt again that they had a mission. (See Hitschmann right.)

SHELF-SPACE. Other matters seemed extraneous. Diplomats looked for space on UN shelves to tuck them away for the summer. In the Assembly's fall session those that were still alive could be dusted off. The Mindszenty affair and the lifting of diplomatic sanctions against Spain seemed almost certain to be shelved. The disposal of the former Italian colonies, though pressing to some, would probably be held over, too.

The Italian colonies

Early in the week debate on the colonies continued vigorous. A Libyan delegation said that the colonials would fight any foreign rule, Italian or British. Libya, they said, wanted freedom, not trusteeship. The Latin-American bloc held out for a return to Italian rule, to the evident disgust of their customary allies, the Arabs.

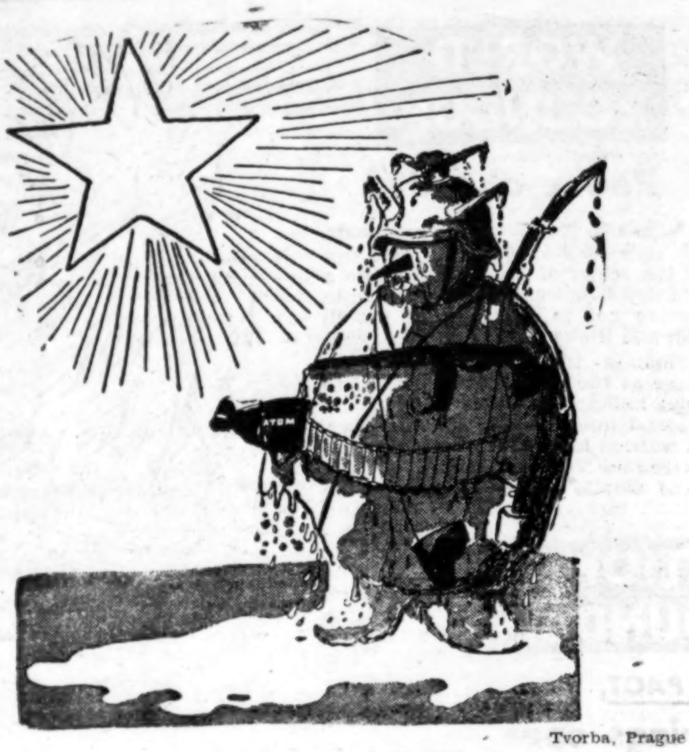
Arab lines held less firmly though. The Syrian spokesman made known his country's position for the first time since the military coup in his country three weeks ago. He championed independence and said some of the compromise propositions "seemed like horse-trading." The Pakistani, too, were militantly on the side of international trusteeships or independence, and they seemed bitter about the failure of Egypt to follow their lead. Egypt was angling for a slice of Libya herself.

But as the week ended no agreement seemed likely. Shelf space was sought.

Israel's admission to UN seemed the only item likely to be acted on at this session.

ORIENTAL GHOST. There was another reason for the disinclination to talk too much. A great imponderable in the person of the new China sat in on every discussion. Delegates thought about the change in the Security Council lineup if the new China were to fill the seat occupied by the old one. It would inherit the veto power. It would immeasurably strengthen the socialist minority. It raised vexing questions.

Many thought that it cast an impressive shadow over the talks on Germany at the Soviet Delegation's Park Avenue office. It was recalled that months ago a certain delegate at Lake Success had doubted there would be war because the "Chinese people had so changed the balance of forces in the world."



Tvorba, Prague

The heat is on the cold war

The empire stands

EIGHT men sat around a table in 10 Downing Street last week and talked. Among them was D. S. Senanayahe, a former elephant trainer and wrestler from Ceylon; Peter Fraser, the son of a Scottish cobbler who had emigrated to New Zealand; Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistani descendant of the Persian King Naushe'rwan the Just. Others came from India, South Africa, Australia and Canada.

Each was prime minister of his country, save Lester Pearson, Canadian External Affairs Minister. They had come to discuss the future status of India in the British Commonwealth. India was committed to the way of a republic. But India's prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru found himself and his regime attached by strong ties to the Commonwealth. These ties were commercial on one hand. The Commonwealth grants tariff preferences to members. They were also political inasmuch as Nehru's India had been chosen to stem the tide of socialism in Asia.

CATCH WISE? The problem was how to preserve a sovereign republic within a federation which acknowledged George VI as king.

The solution was semantic. The king would remain. Those members of the Commonwealth that wanted to acknowledge the king as king would do so. Republic members, on the other hand, would think of the king as a symbol only and as head of the Commonwealth.

Columbia Broadcasting System's London correspondent Howard K. Smith said: "I hope you understand the distinction because I can't."

Lake Success special

The 'House of 1,000 Doors' came through on Berlin

By Marcelle Hitschmann

LAKE SUCCESS

THIS session of the UN General Assembly started as an anti-climax to the signature of the Atlantic Pact. Smug editors dislodged it from front pages.

It has turned out to be the most important session in UN history.

In what Churchill calls a "brawling cockpit," and UN supporters call "the House of a Thousand Doors," anything can happen. Certainly the Jessup-Malik talks about the Berlin deadlock, which revived world hope of Soviet-U.S. agreement, couldn't have taken place anywhere else without involving considerable loss of face and other Byzantine considerations.

Anyway the world knows that during the past two and a half months American and Soviet officials have used the organization wisely. They have met here and talked as grown-up, responsible human beings in search of agreement. Last week they had dinner together at the home of Secretary General Trygve Lie. And much credit is given here to Philip Jessup, who is considered the only real statesman the U.S. delegation has.

SLOW REVERSE. Newsmen are cautious, and also unable to reverse their pessimism as fast as events demand. Their caution is encouraged by non-American Western spokesmen, who can't help feeling that they have been left out of the game (although consulted) and that their position of second fiddles has become uncomfortably obvious.

Another problem faced by spokesmen for Western European nations (which don't reverse their policies as easily as America does) is to explain to their peoples the reasons for a sudden reversal—when agreement is reached.

There will be a lot of explaining to do now—about keeping the cold war dangerously cold, and scaring millions of people with the thought of impending war, while Philip Jessup and Jacob Malik were having their friendly talks.

FEBRUARY ECHOES. Why were the talks kept secret?

A survey of the dates at which they took place may give us an answer. The first Jessup-Malik talks—Jessup's move—occurred on February 15.

How did the cold war look then? The Western powers were drafting the text of the Atlantic Pact, putting pressure on the Scandinavian countries, setting up a separate administration for the Ruhr, fostering the creation of a Western German State. Secretary of State Dean Acheson and President Truman made news turning down Stalin's offer for a peace settlement, as expressed in a telegraphic interview with Kingsbury Smith of INS.

Also, at Geneva, a UN committee of experts who tried to solve the Berlin currency problem reported that the effort failed. The Soviets were willing to continue the negotiations, but the three Western powers felt agreement was impossible under existing circumstances.

MARCH WINDS. Curiously enough, the report reached Lake Success on February 11 but was released only on March 15. That day, Jessup and Malik met again and the talks were hopeful.

But three days later, on the 18th Washington released the text of the Atlantic Pact; and on the 20th the three Western powers banned the Soviet mark from Western Berlin.

Had the Jessup-Malik conversations been publicized then, public opinion would have viewed both the terms of the Atlantic Pact and the ban of the Soviet currency with different eyes. For these and other similar measures were justified by the Western powers exclusively on the assertion that the Soviet Union was planning military and ideological aggression against the West and would never cooperate.

TRUTH WILL OUT. The third Jessup-Malik talk occurred on April 5th, while the General Assembly opened. It was the "morning after" the signature of the Atlantic Pact in Washington. Again Malik's answers were favorable for lifting the blockade and holding general talks on Germany.

It was indeed a strange way to be "uncooperative," and it would not have stood public scrutiny. When rumors began to leak, the Western press said the Soviet had "asked" to lift the blockade. The **Tass** (Moscow) communique gave a truthful account of the talks, and it was later confirmed by the State Department that it was the American delegate and not Jacob Malik who had asked questions first.

One may now relax and shudder in retrospect. Where would we be now if the House of a Thousand Doors had gone out of business right after the signature of the Atlantic Pact?

In Berlin, U.S. Military Governor Lucius D. Clay said he didn't know anything about the talks at Lake Success. Gen. Clay's mission in Germany will end within the next 30 days.

The assembled ministers seemed un- ubled, though. Pandit Nehru dashed to Dublin to tell Prime Minister n A. Costello how a republic might ist under the crown. The new repub- of Ireland is an alumnus of the pire.

Costello was not likely to prove as aptable as Nehru. The Pandit once dured the tedium and trials of a itish prison by standing on his head regular intervals. Not long ago he ld a reporter that he often still stood his head—and that it helped.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

TLANTIC PACT

Hearings open

ECRETARY of State Dean Acheson, his once unruly moustache neatly immed, arrived in the Senate caucus oom with the Atlantic Pact the very fternoon the world hopefully await- the results of the latest Malik-Jessup lks on Germany.

The Secretary, first witness to ap- ear at the hearings of the Senate oreign Relations Committee, delivered prepared statement which seemed rangely outdated in the hopeful, re- eved atmosphere generated by the rospect of renewed Russian-American egotiations.

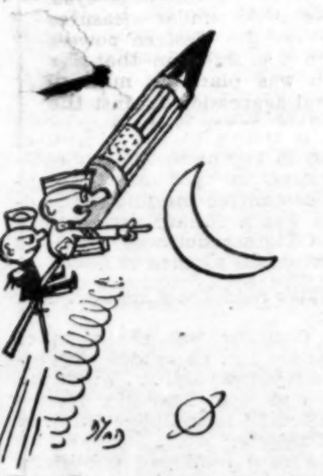
UR SENSITIVE POLICY. Senators ubjected the dapper Secretary to a rolonged grilling.

Will the treaty still be necessary if e East-West deadlock over Berlin is roken?

"Yes, in my judgment it will still e necessary," said Acheson, insisting at U.S. policy must not be subject "war of nerves or propaganda or hatever is directed against us."

Must the U.S. send "substantial umbers of troops" to Europe "prior aggression?"

"The answer to that is a clear and bsolute no," Acheson shot back, di- ectly contradicting the views expressed y Gen. Bradley on Army Day when e said the Pact would "funnel the reat strength of our new world to the amparts of the old. . . ."



Daily Worker, London

"Say, Buddy, some war base!"

The exchange is sharp

Many senators were seriously con- erned about the cost of the arms pro- ram. They hoped it could be divorced om the treaty. Acheson, however, in- sted that the arms program is neces- ary to implement the Pact. Senators ho voted for the Pact, he said, would e less free in voting on the arms pro- ram than they would be if there were o treaty.

Sen. Tom Connally, one of those orried by the arms program, launched an ill-tempered attack on two Republican senators, not members of the committee, who sat in on the session. "Everyone knows," Connally told Forrest Donnell of Missouri and Arthur Watkins of Utah, both persistent critics of the Pact, "you are not for the treaty and are here to impede it, obstruct it, and to filibuster it, one might say."

Angrily, the senators denied the charge.

Acheson lost his temper only once—when he demanded that photographers stop flashing bulbs in his face. Connally told photographers: "You can snap, but you can't bulb."

CONGRESS WEEK

Taft-Hartley climax

"REPEAL Taft-Hartley" had been a campaign slogan. Last week, six months after election day, the House was on the brink of action. The Senate would not act for another month.

Before the House were two labor bills to replace Taft-Hartley: the Thomas-Lesinski Bill, backed by labor and the Administration; the Wood Bill, even more restrictive than Taft-Hartley. At the week-end it was a toss-up which would win.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE. On Wednesday the President conferred with Democratic Party leaders, and later told newsmen that he regarded action to repeal Taft-Hartley a test of party loyalty. Newsmen pounced upon a hint that patronage would be withheld from those congressmen who jumped the traces. Dixiecrats and Republicans jubilantly cried: "Votes for sale."

Democratic National Chairman Sen. J. Howard McGrath (R.I.) thought the President had gone farther with reporters than with the congressmen themselves. "I guess you would call it an extension of the Truman Doctrine," he said.

Off the floor

It seemed certain that the minds of many legislators were not being swayed by debate alone. Two hours after the question came to the floor on Tuesday only 70 congressmen were in their seats. It was rumored that the Administration was ready to yield on a series of five weakening amendments to the Thomas-Lesinski Bill.

ONE-DAY STRIKE? Vito Marcantonio, (ALP-N.Y.) said: "The only pro-labor approach is to vote down every amendment to be offered by the Administration or anyone else. Any other course of action will be a betrayal of the American working people." Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D-N.Y.) pleaded for a one-day general strike to support repeal.

Top labor officialdom was not likely to respond. But in New York City, some 2,000 shop stewards and officers of progressive unions dispatched a delegation to Washington with a resolution insisting that "all attempts to weaken the fight for repeal by introducing reactionary amendments be summarily rejected."

Health bill put off

Last Monday Congress got bills embodying President Truman's compulsory health insurance plan to provide full medical care for 117,000,000 Americans at an estimated cost of $6,000,000,000 a year to be paid for by payroll taxes. But prospects for its passage were dim. Optimists saw no hope for action until next year; pessimists predicted the program will be killed in Senate committee.

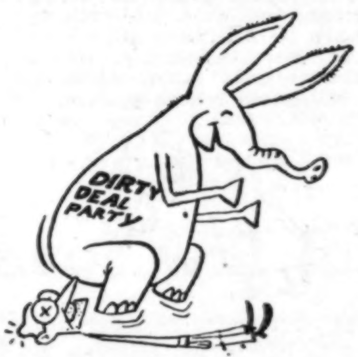
The President said his plan was "plain common sense." Its aims: "To make available enough medical service to go around, and to see that everybody has a chance to obtain these services." Adequate care now, he said, is "beyond the means of all but the upper income groups."

WHAT IT WOULD DO. Under the plan, everybody would pay a 1½% tax, receive in return full medical, surgical, dental and hospital care paid for by the government. Opponents, including the American Medical Assn. and some Catholic groups, denounce this as "socialism." The plan would expand medical schools, train more doctors and nurses, build more hospitals and medical facilities, and extend general public health services.

There is little disagreement about the present state of American health: it is poor. There is now one doctor for every 770 persons; 50,000 more are needed. Doctors are badly distributed: in Mississippi there is only one Negro doctor for every 19,000 Negroes. Every year 325,000 persons die in this country for lack of medical care. Illness costs the nation 4,300,000 man-years of labor every year.

Civil rights: dim

Late last week Congress got President Truman's civil rights program in a one-package bill providing for anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation, and establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission and a permanent Civil Rights Commission. But introduction of the measure was regarded largely as a gesture; both houses of Congress are in a log-jam of "must" legislation and there is little chance that civil rights will be acted upon this session, already four months old. Earlier in the week a Senate Judiciary subcommittee approved a watered-down anti-lynch bill proposed by Republican Sen. Homer Ferguson (Mich.).



In the 20th

THE special election in New York's 20th Congressional District to fill the vacancy left by the death of Sol Bloom began to get rough last week. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., who became the Liberal Party candidate after Tammany Hall rejected him, charged that Municipal Court Justice Benjamin Shalleck, Democratic nominee, was backed by Frank Costello, the big-time gambler.

Shalleck denied this and said his nomination "arose through the sidewalks of the West Side." He in turn taunted Roosevelt with crashing the district (young Roosevelt lives out of the district) on the reputation of his parents, and Roosevelt retorted that he is "running on my own two feet."

But the real blast against young Roosevelt came from the ALP, whose candidate, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, dismissed him as "Junior." Rep. Vito Marcantonio, speaking at a campaign rally in her behalf, said: "Mr. Roosevelt is a very strange example of a small son of a great father." He accused F.D.R. Jr. of "betraying" the late President's peace policies. Young Roosevelt, he said, is "stooging for that corrupt combination of David Dubinsky and Alex Rose."

Election day is May 17.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Illinois: Broyles

LAST week the Seditious Activities Investigating Commission of the Illinois State Legislature had a potato too hot to hold.

Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, whose school is being investigated for sedition, was on the witness stand.

"The study of communism," he said, "is not a subversive activity."

Then he cut loose. Turning to Republican State Sen. Paul Broyles, whose bills to outlaw progressive activity in the state provoked the present hearings, the Chancellor told him his job as a legislator should be "to eliminate those social and economic evils and those political injustices which are the sources of discontent and disaffection."

The bills themselves he denounced as unnecessary, unconstitutional and un-American, "since they aim at thought control."

PRESIDENT AS A MODEL. When committee investigator J. B. Matthews, who once held a similar job with the old Dies Committee, quoted President Truman's denunciation of Communist leaders as "traitors," Hutchins jolted back: "You will forgive me for saying there is reason why we should not model

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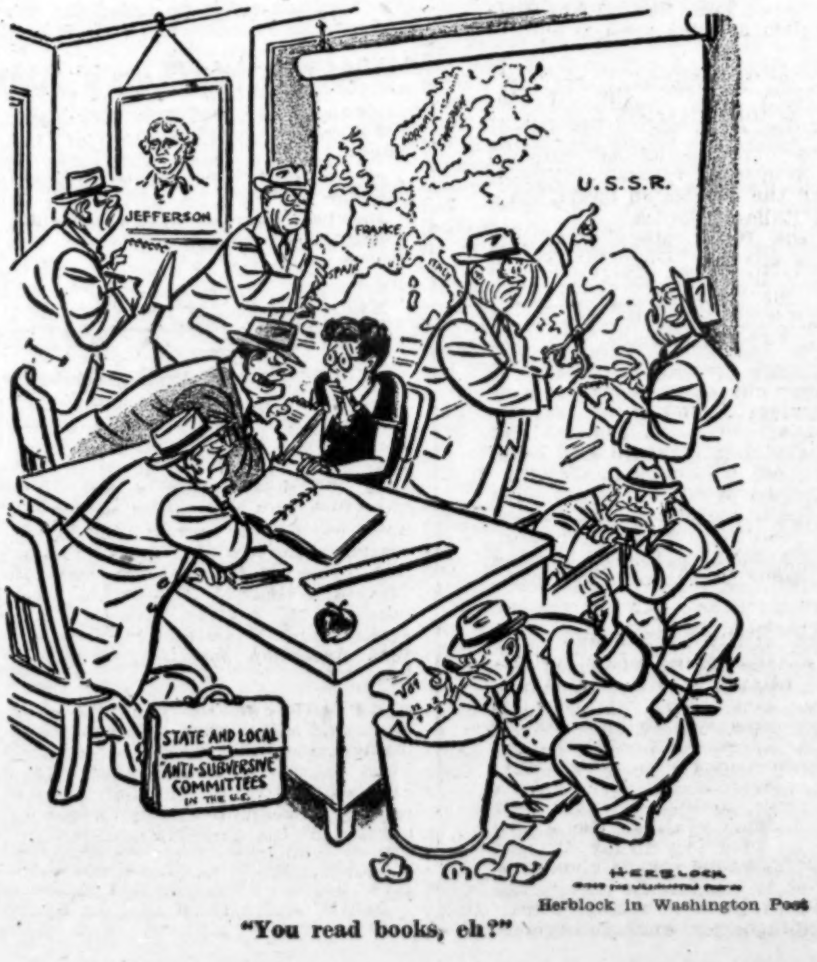


Herblock in Washington Post

"You read books, eh?"

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

our vocabularies on the President's."

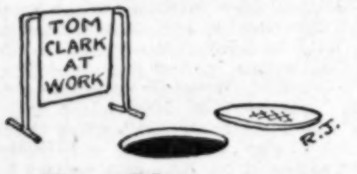
Earlier the committee had had a potato that gave it no trouble at all. It was Howard Rushmore, New York **Journal-American** reporter specializing in witch hunting. He told the investigators that Prof. Harold C. Urey (who has been cleared by government security agencies) should be barred from work on atomic projects; educators belonging to "communist-front" organizations should be barred by law from teaching; the Communist Party itself should be outlawed. Then he named 12 U. of C. educators as "communist fronters."

BUT NOT TO SPEAK. During the week some 300 delegates from scores of organizations crowded House galleries in protest against passage of the Broyles bills. None of them was allowed to speak.

The six Broyles bills are directed against persons "directly or indirectly affiliated with any communist . . . or communist front organization." Yardstick for such organizations will be the Department of Justice list. Persons so affiliated would be barred from teaching in Illinois schools or from running for office. One provision in the bills calls for a one- to five-year sentence in prison for anyone attending a "communist front" meeting.

By association

The Department of Justice yardstick grew a little longer last week: Attorney General Tom Clark issued a supplementary list of "subversive" organizations. Among those described as "communist" were as least 10 no longer in existence; some have been non-existent for as long as 10 years. Listing of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, for example, brought a smile to many. But on second reading this wasn't funny at all: what Tom Clark has in mind is that anybody who was "guilty by association" 10 years ago is still guilty.



The Ober era

MARYLAND lay under the fist of the Ober Law but no blow had yet fallen. In full force was the statute setting prison penalties for members of organizations marked by the State as "subversive." The list of proscribed organizations had not yet been drawn.

Progressives did not dive underground. Resistance was frequent and effective. The Communist Party, marked first for suppression, went on the air and announced that it would test the constitutionality of the measure. Citizens' committees were formed to wage other court tests.

In Baltimore, 24 hours after Gov. William Preston Lane signed the law into effect, progressives forced a theater to rescind its jimcrow ruling. **Anna Lucasta**, with an all-Negro cast, was playing. The theater held to the practice of confining Negroes to the second balcony.

THEY WON THE FIGHT. Pickets were sent by the Progressive Party, the Young Progressives of America, the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the Baltimore Interracial Fellowship. Few crossed the lines on opening night. Before the week was out the management capitulated and Negroes sat with whites.

When Henry Wallace brings his overseas guests to Baltimore May 5, Progressive Party officials said, Baltimore's Coliseum would be packed, Ober law or no.

Trial of the 11

LAST WEEK the defense in the trial of 11 Communist leaders won what was to them a crucial point: Judge Medina, after once ruling against it, allowed William Z. Foster, the Party's chairman, to testify at the trial through a written deposition.

Foster's case was severed from the other defendants because of his serious illness. The defense has fought bitterly for his right to make a deposition in the case, holding that his testimony is not only invaluable to the defense, but that the outcome of his own eventual trial will be influenced by the verdict in this one. Protests, letters and delegations have backed up this demand. Judge Medina's new ruling was made at the start of proceedings at the beginning of the week.

The agent parade

Two more FBI agents held the stand last week, telling about literature they had read and schools and classes they had attended while posing as communists. One was Garfield Herron, an Arkansas farmer who joined the Party at the request of the FBI while working in a war plant in Chicago in 1944. The other was Angelina Calomiris, a Greenwich Village photographer specializing in animal pictures who became an FBI informer in 1942.

HARD BENCH. The clashes between judge and defense counsel which have marked the trial from the start became more intense last week. One exchange came when the defense sought a ruling to bar the FBI from "trying this case in the newspapers" after publication of an FBI press release praising its witnesses for their "patriotism." This, argued the defense, was "poisoning the public atmosphere" and was highly prejudicial because the FBI is an arm of the government agency prosecuting the case.

Before he uttered his familiar "objection denied," the judge made himself out to be the chief defendant. He said the defense stages "rumpuses" all the time; they dig at him and dig at him; and somebody even gets a copy of the **Daily Worker** to his house every day: "I wish my wife would stop reading it." All in all, he said, summing up the attacks upon him, "It is a cruel thing."

On Wednesday he raised the pay of jurors in the case from $5 to $10 a day.

Willie McGee's fate

IN November, 1945, Mrs. Troy Hawkins, middle-aged housewife, of Laurel, Miss., said a "man with kinky hair" had entered her house and raped her while she lay next to her sick child. Her husband, she said, was asleep in an adjoining room.

Willie McGee, 34, army veteran, truck driver, father of four children and a Negro, was picked up and rushed to Laurel where a lynch mob had gathered. It was said he confessed.

On December 6, 1945, a mob besieged the court house. McGee had to be carried in. He could not talk. His court-appointed attorneys could not confer with him because he was in a state of shock. The jury deliberated for two minutes, found him guilty, and he was promptly sentenced to die.

SECOND TAKE. The case was appealed by local groups and the Mississippi Supreme Court ordered a re-trial on the ground that he should not have been tried in Laurel.

Again they brought him into court in Laurel, but the judge said he could not try a case "behind the guns of soldiers." He was tried in nearby Hattiesburg. On the basis of his "confession" he was convicted and sentenced to die.

Money for a life

The Civil Rights Congress argued his appeal again and, on the grounds that no Negroes were admitted to the jury panels, won a third trial. In Laurel a new district attorney was elected, pledged to send Willie McGee to the chair. Again there were mobs at the court house and no Negroes in the jury box. Again the verdict of guilty and the sentence of death.

The third appeal of the CRC was denied. Willie McGee is to die on June 2.

The CRC prepared to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. But the legal battle had been costly and funds were low. It seemed that Willie McGee might lose his life for lack of money. A desperate call went out from the Civil Rights Congress last week for contributions, earmarked for Willie McGee.

LABOR'S WEEK

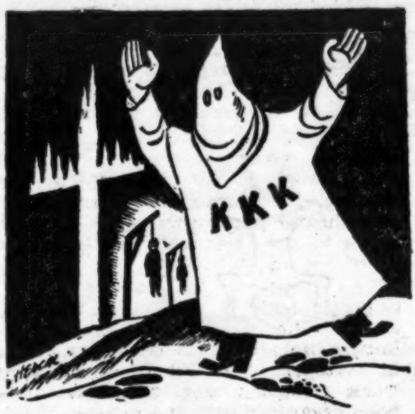
The goons ride

IT was election day. The Ku Klux Klan rode openly through the smoke-begrimed streets of Bessemer, Alabama. The Klan's mission was to frighten Negroes from the polls where red ore miners, employees of the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., were to cast their ballots. They would vote to determine whether they should be represented by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, CIO, or Philip Murray's United Steel Workers, CIO.

Mine Mill, since the CIO's inception, has been the bargaining agent for the red ore miners, nearly half of whom are Negroes. It has fought discrimination, achieved complete integration of Negro and white workers.

Recently, the steel union launched a raiding campaign against Mine Mill, which has a progressive leadership. In Bessemer it worked with the Klan, which tried to terrorize Negro workers.

BEATEN TO A PULP. To fight the steel raids, Mine Mill sent to Bessemer its able secretary-treasurer, Maurice Travis. On election eve, as Travis entered radio station WJLD to broadcast a final appeal to the miners, he was set upon by eight or ten men. Calling him a "nigger-loving s-o-b," they struck him over the head with a heavy chair, kicked him in the face, then beat and stomped on him as he lay on the floor, his face unrecognizable, his clothing drenched in blood.



Hoy, Mexico

Symbol of Yankee Democracy

Taken to the hospital in a critical condition and facing the possibility of permanent blindness, Travis underwent an eye operation a few days later.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE. His attackers, said Mine Mill, included Nick Zonarich, personal representative of Philip Murray, Robert Christopherson, Alabama publicity director for the CIO Southern organizing drive, and other steel union representatives.

Mine Mill officials, in a telegram to Murray, held the CIO president and his union "entirely responsible." They demanded a meeting of the CIO Executive Board to put an end to raiding and union busting.

On election day, the miners voted for the steel union, 2,693 to 2,223. Negro members, it was reported, stuck to Mine Mill. In Birmingham, Zonarich boasted: "This is only the beginning of the CIO fight to wipe out communism in the American labor movement."

Washington special

The Un-American boys unleash the old bloodhounds

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

IN the closing days of 1948, when some people were still excited about the election results in November, we were told there would be no more Un-American Activities Committee.

In the opening hours of the 81st Congress with the Democrats in control, a resolution was jammed through the House to soften legislation blocking the power of the Rules Committee. Attached to that resolution was a gimmick making it impossible to change the rules again this session.

As a result, the Un-American Committee remained. Rep. John Stephens Wood of Georgia, a former Blue Ridge Circuit solicitor and judge, was named chairman. In that disarming Southern way of his he said: "All the old ways of the committee will be dropped. We shall proceed like gentlemen and respect the civil liberties of everyone."

Wood had been chairman of the committee once before. But some people believed him.

SKY'S THE LIMIT. Last week the whole fraud came out. J. Parnell Thomasism was back in the saddle and hell bent for headlines in the best pumpkinhead style.

Reporters gathered in the second floor corridor of the old House Office Building and waited, as they had waited so often and so patiently during the Chambers-Hiss days.

Three men were led into the commitee room. Their testimony was taken in private. The persons they testified against were not there, had no chance at cross examination. The public was not represented. When it was over committee hirelings told the world's freest press that:

(1) Milosh Knezevich who once had a row with the United Electrical Workers (CIO) testified they had nine or ten Communist members trying to get control of industrial production in Pittsburgh.

(2) Harry A. Sherman, once attorney in the area for UE locals, told the committee he could produce communist cards of some members.

(3) Judge Blair F. Gunther of Common Pleas Court in Pittsburgh told the committee that the American Slav Congress is trying to get control of production in key areas and is "obviously dictated to by Moscow." Gunther, the committee hireling said, admitted he was a former president of the Slav Congress but was forced to pull out when he smelled red.

ABOUT FDR. Said the American Slav Congress:

"Judge Gunther was chairman of the committee . . . he made every effort to use it personally. . . . When the Congress endorsed Franklin Roosevelt for a fourth term Judge Gunther left the Congress.

"It is to such bankrupt politicians and poison peddlers that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is now offering its platform, joining with them in an effort to terrorize Slavic Americans who oppose the North Atlantic Pact."

The papers printed and the radios blared the committee charges. But the Slav Congress statement went begging.

And, scenting red blood, the Wood committee launched a "full investigation" of subversive activities amongst Polish-Americans. Guess which Polish-Americans.

China stole the show

'Surplus' congress in Prague

By George Wheeler

PRAGUE

SIX dizzying days of speeches, applause, demonstrations, translations and theater performances for the delegates to the "surplus" Peace Congress have just ended here.

The result of the French government's refusal of visas to many delegates to the Paris Congress was pointed out by Czech Olympic Games champion E. Zatopek. "Instead of the original Paris Congress, two Congresses have been organized with the number of participants doubled."

The Chinese delegation of 44 (including Peiping economics professor Ma Jin Chu, trade union leader Lin Ning I and writer Kuo Mo Jo) was stranded intact in Prague by the ukase of the French Consulate. From each of the countries east of the Marshall Line there were "surplus" delegates over and above the quota of eight allowed to go to Paris.

NANKING FLASH. Somebody had the idea: "We'll have a conference here." Next day the "surplus" Congress began, with 60 Czechs (including the Ministers of Education and Information and representatives of the churches) swelling into hundreds the delegations from Poland, China, Mongolia, U.S.S.R., Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Korea, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Spain (in exile), Iran, U.S.A., Indonesia, India and Viet-Nam.

Speeches were relayed back and forth between the halls in Paris and Prague, an airlift keeping up shuttle service. All felt that the division between the two sessions was artificial. The plea of Mrs. Kosmodemyanskaya, mother of the martyred Russians Zoya and Alexei, moved the Prague session as deeply as it moved the delegates who reached Paris.

High point of the meeting was the announcement on Saturday of Nanking's fall. Delegates streamed into the aisles, kissing Chinese, tossing Chinese in the air, trying to sing "Chee Lai" with the Chinese—Russians hugging Chinese, Hungarians hugging Poles—everyone taking everyone's picture. In case anyone was puzzled by a peace congress rejoicing at military advances, Jan Drda, head of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, pointed out when the noise finally subsided that hopes of peace in China were now much closer.

GERMANS WELCOMED. Impressive witnesses against war were women of Lidice, Greek children now cared for in Czech homes, concentration camp victims from various countries, and German delegates whose promises to work against militarism were warmly received. In contrast to last June, when German observers at the WFTU conference in Prague were put in a corner and expected to shut up, this time Czech workers brought gifts to the German delegates and exchanged embraces.

Two weeks before the "surplus" congress in Prague, the Czechs staged a peace rally of their own. Above is a scene from that earlier rally. A huge banner reading Mir (PEACE) hangs from a balcony of the Lubkowitz Palace.

From the U.S.S.R. there were Zinaida Gagarina of the Soviet Anti-Fascist Committee, playwright Konstantin Simonov, A. V. Palladin of the Academy of Sciences, and "shock brigaders" from steel mills and collective farms. From the U.S.A. came John Marsalka, vice-president of the American Slav Congress, and Maude Russell of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, who won approving laughter with her statement: "We have learned from the Chinese that reactionaries are paper tigers."

IT WASN'T NEWS. Czechoslovak Church bishop Novak said that "those who want war and block social reform are counterfeit Christians." The Russian Orthodox patriarch Kracmar asked a blessing on "the unity of all defenders of peace on earth."

A touring American correspondent, looking sourly over the delegates from 18 lands, announced: "I'm fed up. I'm leaving."

He did—before the first speech—miffed that he hadn't been feted and toured instead of admitted to a peace conference.

'All the Chiangs will fall'

AT the "surplus" Peace Congress in Prague Kuo Mo Jo, author, chairman of the 44 Chinese delegates who were banned from entering France, protested against the French government's action.

"It is not merely stupid, but also senseless," he said, "for the French government to dare antagonize the whole world as it secures aid from American imperialism. Let them have a look at Chiang Kai-shek! This traitor has been overthrown by the Chinese people in spite of full support by American imperialists. We believe that all the Chiang Kai-sheks in other nations will sooner or later meet with the same fate.

Korean delegates at the Prague meeting

"We Chinese people know very well that the Soviet Union was the first to abrogate unequal treaties in China. Between 1926 and 1927 it was the Soviet Union who aided us in the fight against imperialism for independence and freedom. In 1937 when Japanese imperialism invaded China, it was again the Soviet Union who unconditionally assisted our war of resistance.

U. S. "AID." "What about the United States? The American people is of course the friend of the Chinese people. And we have not forgotten the friendship of Stillwell and Carlson.

"But the American imperialist government has always been closely linked up with China's reactionary warlords

"After the surrender of Japan the American government continued to aid the Kuomintang reactionaries and went on quartering its troops and expanding its military base in China. The direct U. S. 'aid' to the Kuomintang government after the war, plus military expenditure of American troops stationed in China, amounted to $6,000,000,000 according to reliable estimates."

WHERE IT LANDED. "This brought about, after eight years of anti-Japanese war, civil war on an unprecedented scale. China has suffered most bitterly and therefore knows thoroughly the aggressive ambitions of U. S. imperialists.

"We Chinese people have struggled against imperialist aggression for 100 years. We have sacrificed much and fought unflinchingly. In the course of almost three years' hard fighting in the internal war we have wiped out 4,959,400 reactionary troops and captured almost all the American equipment of the enemy.

"The stooges fostered by American imperialism in China became the transportation corps of the people's armed forces, while the United States became our arsenal.

IT MUST ENDURE. "We, the Chinese people, do not want war—this can be testified by our 5,000 years of history.

"Our national slogan is 'Peace is precious.'

"But we want a people's democratic peace, not a false peace. We are carrying on a large-scale revolutionary war in our country to secure real internal peace, so as to contribute to lasting world peace."

A plea to the mothers and fathers of all nations

Perhaps the most moving voice in the great peace hall, the voice that spoke most eloquently for peace, was that of Mrs. Kosmodemyanskaya of the Soviet Union. She is the mother of the Russian partisan heroine, Zoya, a girl of 18 who was tortured and murdered by the Nazis. This is what she said:

I AM a Soviet mother and I wish to speak to you today in the name of millions of mothers of our country who have not forgotten the horrors of the war unleashed by fascism.

Many of us have been left widows; many have lost their sons, their brothers, their husbands.

Like so many others, I lost what was dearest to me—my daughter and my son, who, after their death, were honored with the title of Heroes of the Soviet Union.

My children were very young when they lost their father. I taught at a school and I raised my kiddies. We raised our children for peaceful work.

In 1941 my Zoya was only 18. On the threshold of life, at that most beautiful age of youth, she dreamed of happiness, of love, of the great work she would do for the good of her beloved country.

But that dream was not to be.

WHEN in October the fighting developed before Moscow, Zoya said to me: "Mummy, I am going to the front, to the partisans. I want you to understand me, Mummy; I cannot stay out of the fight when the Fascists are besieging Moscow.

"I am proud because I am going to fight them, and you should be proud because I am leaving for the front. Only, you must not cry when you say goodbye to me."

As she left me my Zoya said: "I shall come back a heroine or else die as one." And she smiled at me.

Zoya, with a group of partisans, crossed the front and occupied one of the enemy's positions.

Zoya fulfilled her last task at the end of November, 1941. In carrying out this mission she was captured by the German soldeirs.

THE Fascist hangmen made her submit to every kind of torture, beat her with sticks and whips and left her out in the cold without clothes.

But Zoya loved her people. She was a child who was faithful to her country, firm and courageous. The torturers got nothing from her.

ZOYA

And before she breathed her last, speaking to the peasants who surrounded the gallows, she said: "I am not afraid to die, comrades. It is happiness to die for one's people."

Turning to the Fascist soldiers she shouted, "You are going to hang me but I am not alone. There are 200 million of us and you cannot hang them all. I shall be avenged! Victory will be ours!"

I ASK you—you my companions in the struggle for peace: is it possible that our children spilled their blood in vain?

When you return to your countries tell the people the whole truth about the criminal plans of the enemies of humanity.

Then new armies of simple people, ardently wishing for work and peace, will join our struggle. And we will be twice, three times stronger.

I speak from this rostrum to the mothers and fathers of all countries. Make your children into men and women who love liberty and who will fight for peace.

Frederic Joliot-Curie

'The price of a battle cruiser would build 10 research centers'

IN his opening address Frederic Joliot-Curie, French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy and president of the Congress, spoke as one of the world's leading experts about the present application of atomic energy discoveries.

"We do not believe," he said, "that a great plutonium-producing center for the manufacture of atomic bombs is the best place from which to claim 'moral leadership of the world,' as was done recently by Vice-President Barkley at Oak Ridge.

"Haven't we seen the example of Belgium? That country, notwithstanding that it is the world's largest uranium producer, cannot obtain even a minimum quantity of this metal for the research work of her atomic energy scientists. The entire uranium production of Belgian Congo goes to the United States, which turns over a minimum quantity to Great Britain."

DOLLARS FOR BLOOD. "As my colleague Etienne Gilson has so well written: 'Nothing is clearer than that they want to buy us with dollars; and once again it is our lives that are being bartered for.'

"U.S. Congressman Cannon lent eloquent substance to our fears last week, when he spoke of bases on our continent from which bombs are to be dropped and the equipping of our soldiers who are to be thrown into the melee. Thus—as he himself said—thanks to the Atlantic Pact and the atomic bomb, war could be waged economically with respect to American lives.

"I am convinced that tens of millions of Americans ardently want peace and condemn these words.

IDEAS MARKED DOWN. "What civilization owes to scientific research need not be recalled here. As Paul Langevin used to say, science makes possible the material liberation of man, a necessary condition for his spiritual and moral liberation. It is an undeniable fact that when literature, the arts and the sciences develop harmoniously, people can live in happiness; and that it is by radiating ideas and exporting the fruits of ideas which can be useful to others that a nation justifies its independence within the community of nations.

"This great mission becomes impossible in practice when a country devotes its main efforts to acquiring and manufacturing armaments, to maintaining in barracks hundreds of thousands of youths who are thus withdrawn from producing the riches which create well-being.

"In this respect the budgets of countries which are preparing for war under the pretense of national defense are significant. Credits earmarked for education, for scientific and technical research, for public health, reconstruction etc.—for everything that makes for the progress of civilization—form but a small part of the budgets of these states."

THE TWO ROADS. "I shall never tire of repeating this illustrative fact: The price of a single battle cruiser would pay for construction of ten research institutes where scourges like cancer and tuberculosis could be vanquished—and would maintain them for more than a century. The upkeep of 100 soldiers and their officers would pay for a large laboratory with 40 salaried scientists, all necessary materials and the cost of research.

"The atomic bomb is one of the most spectacular abuses of science. While it is certain that it will not be decisive in a world conflict, we are convinced that peaceful use of atomic energy would be decisive for the wellbeing of mankind."

At one of the sessions two visitors from the Soviet Union have a chat: the Metropolitan Nikolai and Viacheslav Volgin, a vice president of the Soviet Academy of Science.

O. John Rogge

Each nation must find own solutions

O. John Rogge, former Asst. U.S. Attorney General and civil liberties lawyer, made three main points in his address:

"First, there will be neither victor nor vanquished should war come to this world.

"Second, Americans are not threatened by Russians, nor they by us. Each is threatened primarily by fear.

"Third, all peoples and all nations can enjoy peace and the benefit of unrestrained trade and unlimited prosperity, provided that we in America learn to live with communist and socialist nations, and provided, further, that they learn to live with us."

NO INTERFERENCE. Expanding on the third point, he said: "I hold that each country must find its own solution to its own problem within the pattern of its own culture and own history. This means that if Britain wants to go socialist; if Italy wants to put into effect a drastic land reform program, or if France wants to nationalize more and more of its industry, the United States must keep its hand off and not stand in the way of needed and wanted reforms.

"I shall return to my country to help build there a new progressive party. It will be a people's party. It will be a peace party, but it will **not** be a Communist party.

MORE THAN ONE. "I am disturbed by any attempts that there might be to build new Meccas or new Romes, to set up new faiths or new religions or new dogmas or to have new groups looking upon non-Communist liberals as unbelievers or heretics. I think it is important to recognize that there is more than one right way.

"Russia will find its own solution for its problems. Yugoslavia—its own. China, Great Britain, and the United States will find their solutions and all nations will find their solutions.

"National autonomy is essential not only because it recognizes the freedom of peoples in nations to work out their own problems and destinies, but also for the practical reason that problems are most satisfactorily resolved when they are handled by the peoples in the communities directly affected by the problems."

ROGGE

Our unfettered press

What Robeson said

Having stuck out its neck over the New York Peace Congress—giving it heavy publicity through the error of predicting mass protests to the Congress which never materialized—the U.S. press gave the silent treatment to the Paris meeting. The day after it ended, the "liberal" Chicago Sun-Times *did not even mention the Congress in a 68-page edition.*

The one flare of press excitement was over the speech by Paul Robeson, who was reported as saying that American Negroes would not fight for the U.S. in a war with the U.S.S.R. Robeson was immediately denounced by NAACP secretary Walter White.

Here is what Robeson actually said, from the official record:

"I AM bringing you the message of the Coordination Committee of Negro Peoples of Colonial Countries who desire to live a decent life, to work out new programs for their own emancipation as opposed to the programs put forth by the enemies of peace — programs which would lead only to a renewed slavery.

"We have the firm resolve to fight for peace. We do not desire to go to war for anyone against anyone. We are against those who would restore an imperialist Germany and set up a fascist regime in Greece. We want peace with Republican Spain. We shall support peace and friendship with Soviet Russia and the popular republics. . . .

"At this hour, when those who have accumulated great wealth want to subjugate the peoples of European countries, the American Negroes know full well that their fight for freedom is also for the freedom of white peoples."

Each issue of GUARDIAN has articles that will interest certain of your friends. Tell them about it.

Du Bois: 'Save Africa!'

"TO SAVE the world save Africa!" That was the theme of the speech in Paris by W. E. B. Du Bois, veteran fighter against U. S. race discrimination and most distinguished U. S. delegate to the Paris Congress.

The Western attempt to extend colonialism rather than the Eastern attempt to extend socialism is the root of the present war threat, he said. "Leading this new colonial imperialism comes my own native land, built by my fathers' toil and blood . . . by slaves and paupers, beggars and outcasts, as well as by honest, hard-working peasants."

Why are Americans today "the greatest employers of colonial labor in the world, and are stretching every sinew to control all the labor and profit of Europe, Asia and Africa? Because we are too new to be wise, too impatient to be intelligent, too rich to be humble and too boastful to have good manners. We crucified the prophets who warned us of Negro slavery until that slavery plunged us into civil war. Today when the grandchildren of these slaves are struggling and crawling to the light and demanding the rights of free men, Congress laughs at our just demands and the President of the United States goes fishing."

They came to know the other Americans

PRAGUE

THE coming of the U. S. delegation to the Peace Conference in Prague has helped to check increasing bitterness against America. It has reminded the delegates and the world that there are many Americans who do not glory in each new military base, who do not brag about the distances that our bombers can carry atom bombs, and who do not approve of 70,000 U. S. troops maneuvering in war "games" near the Czech border.

We read that the peace congresses have been interpreted as phony "acts." Your correspondent felt that this was not only a mistaken interpretation, but a dangerous one as well. It is dangerous because under-estimation of the sincerity and determination of these people will certainly lead to improper policy and methods of dealing with them. .

They hate war because they have experienced it. Perhaps if Chicago looked like Warsaw the people of the U. S. would understand why the Polish delegates spoke so passionately against the rebuilding of war bases in Western Germany.

The Greek children did not need to be rehearsed to know that it was American guns and planes and bombs that had driven them from their homes. The shrapnel bore our trade mark. The Chinese delegates knew without prompting that American money, advisers and munitions had made it possible for the Kuomintang to launch a three years' Civil War.

The delegates came from all parts of Eastern Europe and Asia, from Mongolia, from India, and they came from all walks of life and all faiths. Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, coal miners and professors, women and soldiers shared in their demands for peace, a democratic peace.

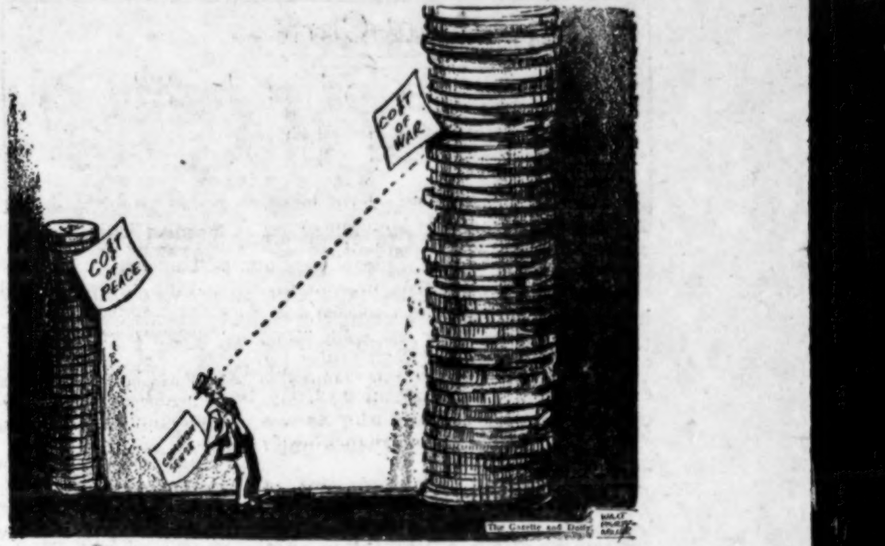
Is this an "act"? Is it dangerous to America?

George Wheeler

The Atlantic Pact

What it can cost YOU

By Tabitha Petran



Walt Partymiller, York Gazette and Daily

Something to think about

NEARLY two years ago U.S. foreign policy "entered the American home and [took] a seat at the family table."

It was George Marshall, then Secretary of State, who said so. Since then we have learned the truth of his own words in terms of daily bread and butter.

In the two years from mid-1949, the cold war has exacted from every American family $305 in taxes and $750 in higher prices.

That $1,055 is in addition to the $530 each family paid, in the same period, for the "normal" pre-cold-war military establishment.*

PILING IT ON. It is just the beginning. With ratification of the Atlantic Pact, your tax bill for the cold war alone, not counting expenditures for the pre-cold war military establishment, in 1949-50 will be $290 per family — almost as much in one year as it was in the last two years.

This may be only a token payment on the Pact; the $1,500,000 that Secretary Acheson has asked for a European arms program this year could not possibly make Europe defendable, as the **Wall St. Journal** recently pointed out. Minimum estimates place the cost of rearming Europe at $20,000,000,000. The **U.S. News** believes it would cost nearly $50,000,000,000 to put on a full war footing the 80 European armored divisions considered necessary — which would mean spending 4 to 8 billions a year on the Pact in addition to the 4 to 5 billions for the Marshall Plan.

Taking into account also the necessity of building a U.S. mass army if the Pact is to be a military reality, the total cost of European and U.S. rearmament is estimated at from 60 to 90 billions.

Yet already, despite the heavy burden of taxes, the government is some $2,000,000,000 in the red. President Truman himself warned in January that further military spending would be ruinous.

WILSON'S BRIGHT IDEA. The Pact thus makes little sense as a security measure. It may be more understandable as a means to guarantee the super profits big business has been reaping from the cold war.

In 1947, the first full year of the cold war, profits of corporations after taxes were over $18,000,000,000, more than double the $8,700,000,000 of 1945, and 44% higher than the $12,500,000,000 of 1946 when the cold war got under way. In 1948 profits of corporations after taxes were $20,000,000,000, 11% higher than in 1947.

These profits represent the fruits of the "three-way partnership" between industry, army and government, envisaged by General Electric president Charles E. Wilson in January 1944, when he advocated a post-war "permanent war" program and armaments economy as a way to put American industrialism in command of world markets.

CONTAINMENT. While profits climbed about 130% from 1945 to 1948, the real wages of workers dropped more than 15% and the real income of consumers more than 10%.

Since the cold war started, per capita food consumption has declined 5%. Unemployment has risen to almost 5,000,000.

As purchasing power drops, production cutbacks are increasing. Government economists predict a 10% drop in production this year. The Department of Agriculture says farmers will suffer a 10% cut in income in 1949.

The Atlantic Pact to contain communism will further contain American living standards by accelerating these trends.

FAIR STEAL. It will also further contain the power of the American people to defend themselves against economic robbery, by tightening military control of the economy and use of "national security" as a union-busting device.

The Atlantic Pact means that Taft-Hartley, if it is repealed, will be repealed in name only. Taft-Hartley is the domestic face of the cold war.

The Pact has already gutted labor's fourth-round wage increase; layoffs produced by the cold war are being used as a weapon to fight wage increases and intensify speedup.

The Pact is emptying the Fair Deal of its content. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, revealed this month that President Truman in January cut the welfare budget to provide money for the arms budget. But even the modest welfare program proposed by the President is now being written off as lost.

The present cost of the Pact involves the day-to-day existence of Americans and their children. The ultimate cost will be their lives.

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*Figures based on U. S. News estimates of the cost of the cold war over and above a "normal" military expenditure of $10,600,000.

This is how you can prevent it

As hearings on the Atlantic Pact get under way in Washington, opposition to the cost of the arms program it involves is being expressed in conservative and business circles and by such conservative senators as Byrd (D-Va.), Tydings (D-Md.), George (D-Ga.) and Taft (R.-Ohio). These questions were reported troubling senators:

1. Is a vote for the Pact a commitment to vote for the arms program?
2. Is the Pact in conflict with UN?
3. Is a slower aproach to the arms plan justified by the prospect of easing East-West tension over Berlin?

GUARDIAN readers are urged to write factually to their senators and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, explaining (a) That authorization of arms shipments to Europe is part and parcel of the Pact, and attempts to separate them are delusive; (b) The Pact violates UN's Charter in letter and spirit; (3) It is the Pact that must be scrapped if tension is to be eased.

Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are:

Democrats	Republicans
Connally, Tex.	Vandenberg, Mich.
George, Ga.	Wiley, Wisc.
Thomas, Utah	Smith, N. J.
Tydings, Md.	Hickenlooper, Iowa
Pepper, Fla.	Lodge, Mass.
Green, R. I.	
McMahon, Conn.	
Fulbright, Ark.	

MORE PEACE CONGRESS

Lombardo Toledano makes a distinction

VICENTE Lombardo Toledano, president of the Workers' Federation of Latin America (CTAL), [illegible] on the delegates to [illegible] the distinction between [illegible] U.S. and the rest of the American continent in speaking of "aggressive America."

It was true, he said, that the U.S. had reached the pinnacle of strength, absorbed most of the world's gold reserves, won control of a third of the merchant shipping, become the creditor of all other capitalist countries, and invented the Red Peril in order to pose as the defender of all peoples against alleged Soviet plans for world domination.

But it was also true that in the part of the world effectively dominated by Washington there were already signs of a new economic crisis, and the colonial countries were coming out into open rebellion.

CAN'T STOP IT. Although in Latin America Washington had destroyed the constructive regimes and made these countries more economically dependent on the U.S. than ever, it must never be forgotten that the Latin American peoples were the pioneers in the struggle against Yankee imperialism.

"Our struggle was until yesterday a local struggle. But today, when Yankee imperialism represents the major peril to the freedom and progress of all the peoples, our historic struggle is one of world-wide importance.

"However much imperialism strives to hold back the progress of our countries, it will be unable to stop it. A profound change in the economic structure of America is inevitable. Our peoples cannot live much longer without this change, for the population has multiplied and its political consciousness has developed enormously."

Lombardo Toledano (left) stresses a point in a talk with Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet newspaperman and writer.

Wright quits Hook meeting

PARIS

LAST week Richard Wright, American author resident in Paris who is "against both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.," refused to speak at the "counter-rally" to the Peace Congress which was organized by Prof. Sidney Hook and others to take place here April 30.

Wright said he had withdrawn on hearing, from a U.S. official who called him in to congratulate him on an article attacking Anna Louise Strong, that the "counter-rally" was financed by the State Dept. and that he should leave out any attacks on the U.S. for its Negro policy.

The French playwright Jean-Paul Sartre and his wife then also pulled out of the "counter-rally." More defections were expected.

The Wallace tour

HENRY WALLACE is touring the nation on a peace crusade with distinguished foreign visitors. They are H. Lester Hutchinson, Labor M. P. from England, and Hon. Michele Giua, Socialist Senator from Italy. They will be joined by others en route.

This is the itinerary of the tour. All meetings at 8 p.m. unless otherwise specified:

City	*Mass Meeting*	*Date*
Boston	**Mechanics Hall**	**May 2**
Philadelphia	**Phila. Arena**	**May 3**
Philadelphia	**Irvine Hall 1 p.m. (U. of Penn.)**	**May 4**
Newark	**Mosque**	**May 4**
Baltimore	**Coliseum**	**May 5**
Minneapolis	**Armory**	**May 6**
Seattle	**Civic Audit.**	**May 8**
Portland, Ore.	**Civic Audit.**	**May 9**
San Francisco	**U. of Cal. 3 p.m. at Berkeley**	**May 11**
San Francisco	**Scottish Rite Temple**	**May 12**
Los Angeles	**Gilmore Stadium**	**May 13**
Denver	**Civic Audit.**	**May 14**
New York	**Madison Sq. Garden**	**May 16**

Report to readers

Down goes price— Up the Guardian!

THERE are millions of us in these United States who want just a few simple things out of this life.

We want a decent living, with security when our working years are over. We want the right to speak our minds, to go to any church or no church. To wear the skin we were born with in dignity and equality. We want to raise our children in health and security to be useful, well-educated citizens in a world at peace.

Now — what has all this got to do with the price of a newspaper?

Well, one thing is this: We at the NATIONAL GUARDIAN want to reach these millions before our sands run out, and we don't think we're going to do it at $4 a year.

We want to reach these millions because we know that not one newspaper in a hundred in the United States stands for the things we all stand for. The situation which prevailed in the American press in the Roosevelt years has changed for the worse, not the better. The people of the United States were overwhelmingly for the New Deal; the press stood 90% against it.

Today the people of this country and the world stand overwhelmingly for peace; the American press grudges peace and progress even in its best moments and spends the rest of its time and space trying to make the American public a set-up for the war crowd.

IN THE main, the American press uses its exclusive privileges — such as minimum postal rates and monopoly on news and opinion — for the exclusive benefit of its advertisers. And despite the huge return from advertising, the price of American publications has gone up anywhere from 66⅔% to 1,000% from the days of the old penny paper.

We at the GUARDIAN want to see the return of the penny paper. Even without advertising, we could deliver our weekly for a penny a week, or 50 cents a year, if we could be sure of enough pennies rolling in each week to pay the printer and the staff.

As things are, we are now undertaking to do the next best things. We are chopping our price in half and we are making a special offer which will bring the GUARDIAN into any U. S. mailbox for $1 for 40 weeks. In line with this, we are inviting you to introduce the GUARDIAN to four of your friends at 25 cents each for ten weeks. Just send us $1 and the four names; we'll do the rest. (SEE BELOW.)

HERE at the GUARDIAN editorial offices, we are doing our level best to make a newsweekly worthy of our readers and your indispensible support in helping us build a big circulation. We have a new printing process which gives us the best newspicture reproduction. Within a few weeks we plan at least two regional editions, based on special coverage in the Chicago-Midwest area and along the West Coast. Our network of correspondents is being increased each week, both at home and abroad.

So from now on, until the day rolls around when with your continuing help we can make it 50 cents, our slogan is "One buck for honest news."

Together, we can make it pay off.

John T. McManus

Here are four friends who want Honest News for One Buck. Please enter the following subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN:

FOUR 10-WEEK SUBS FOR $1 • ONE 40-WEEK SUB FOR $1

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN **17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.**

West Coast wire

Laski learns about free speech

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES liberals, caught with their unity down when Henry Wallace was barred from a speaking date in glamorous Hollywood Bowl, got even a closer squint last week at what reaction is all about.

This time it was not "red-supported" Henry Wallace but loyal Harold Joseph Laski of the extremely anti-Communist British Labor Party who got the old heave-ho.

Neither his party's support of the Atlantic Pact nor his own impassioned denial that Ernie Bevin's foreign policies are "imperialist" kept the University of California at Los Angeles from canceling Laski's scheduled campus speech.

Like Wallace two years ago, Laski took his talk to another hall, spoke to an overflow audience. Unlike the affair of Wallace, there was unity in the protest against the cancellation. Wallace folk yelled, as well as Labor Party admirers.

GET INTO THE ACT. Sponsored by the Sidney Hillman Foundation and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO), Laski said that labor here had better stop being "devious" in its political action approach and get into the world's biggest show with an act of its own.

Performing merely as a pressure group, he said, leaves too much up to personal contacts by labor leaders; generates no "deep swell of popular conviction"; works much better before than after elections (as witness the currently "unrepealed Taft-Hartley Act"); and teaches unionists "devious ways" because pressure groups are not "direct" and "never tell the whole story."

Laski

But with a party of its own, he said, organized labor in his country had fulfilled every domestic pledge a year ahead of schedule.

IMPERIAL LABOR? Pointed queries flew at him:

"Could Britain be socialist at home and imperialist abroad?" Laski, who earlier had said he disapproved Bevin's foreign policies, indignantly denied they are "imperialist."

By freeing India, Burma, Ceylon and Ireland, Britain had taught "every country in the world a lesson in democracy." Bevin was "one of the main architects of Palestine, although not wholly intended."

Russia? "Our great ally in wartime can be made our great ally in time of peace."

North Atlantic business? "If it remains a defensive pact, it's an admirable weapon, but if it doesn't, it's an outrage against humanity."

California Democratic National Committeeman James Roosevelt, who contributed a vast silence to the recent mayoralty campaign of progressive fellow-Democrat Ellis E. Patterson, was on the platform to greet the eminent British Marxist.

Chicago dateline

Sellout on the South Side

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

CHICAGO'S City Council voted down the Carey anti-discrimination measure several weeks ago. But ghosts of the proposed ordinance still haunt the Council.

More than a thousand southsiders, chiefly Negroes, stormed the Council chambers this week to protest a plan to acquire a parcel of slum land between 31st and 35th streets for building a 1,400-unit jimcrow housing project.

The land would be bought by the city, cleared, and then re-sold at a fraction of its cost to the New York Life Insurance Company, which seeks to build the project. The southsiders objected on several grounds:

- The ordinance to acquire the land contained no non-segregation clause.
- It had no provision for re-location of slum residents who now live in the area.
- More family housing units were to be destroyed than were to be built. (They pointed to 19 square miles of vacant land available elsewhere in the heart of the city).

Witnesses suggested that the ordinance was the first step in a campaign to oust Negroes from choicer Chicago locations to outlying areas. This, they said, has long been a dream of Col. R. R. McCormick, **Chicago Tribune** publisher.

The City Council passed the ordinance, without amendment, 34 to 5.

Bingo still bingo no matter where

FORTY-FOUR members of the Illinois House last week introduced a bill to make exceptions to the statute outlawing bingo games in those cases where the proceeds are "for charitable, religious or educational purposes."

The Springfield Ministerial Assn. this week condemned the measure on grounds of "ethical confusion." "If gambling is wrong at all, it is wrong for all, in all places, and at all times."

The House Executive Committee approved the bill on Wednesday by a vote of 15 to 2. Strongest support for the bill came from Rep. T. J. Sullivan of Springfield, where State Attorney Coutrakon has barred bingo and all gamblnig. Bingo games formerly were conducted there for the benefit of the Cathedral Boys High School.

The high rent boys sharpen their axes

THE Cook County Fair Rent Committee was set up last summer as a "front" organization for Chicago landlords, wanting a general rent boost.

The committee has campaigned continuously to force a hearing on the rent boost by the county's Rent Advisory Board, created by the Federal Rent Control Act of 1947. The board has refused to hold a hearing until a survey on the rent situation had been finished. With the survey due late this month the board last week set June 1 for formal hearings.

Norman B. Shogren, federal area rent director, told 500 members of the Chicago Bar Assn. that the board is "seriously considering" a general rent increase in the county.

Three tenant members of the Board, Maida Steinberg, Eugene O. Shands and M. J. Myer, promptly protested Shogren's phrasing. They said the fact the board has scheduled a hearing does not mean an increase will be granted.

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YOUR NUMBER UP?

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